

APPENDIX

Select Speeches

Nomination speech for the Liberal candidacy of Papineau

MONTREAL, APRIL 29, 2007

DEAR LIBERAL FRIENDS, BONJOUR, KALIMERA SAS, BUON giorno. What a great day to be a Liberal!

I want to start by sincerely thanking you for being here, for allowing me to share with you the desire—the dream—that I have of representing the riding of Papineau.

I should also start by thanking my beautiful Sophie, my own family, and my extended family, people of all ages and all backgrounds who have devoted themselves to this dream for several months. Without the tireless work of this new “riding family” I would not be here before you today.

But I am here today, and it’s because of your inspiration, your example, and your support. Though I have to share with you that I have another source of inspiration, as well. In

APPENDIX

the fall of 1965, the residents of Park Ex helped send Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who listed his occupation as “teacher,” to the House of Commons for the first time. Times change, and riding borders change, but what you were part of forty years ago changed Canada forever. Twenty-five years ago this month, that man gave Canada one of the most evolved tools the world had ever seen in ensuring the protection and the full exercise of human rights and freedoms. And now we are all children of that Charter. Of that we are immensely proud.

So you can understand how fiercely proud I am to be able to say that your Prime Minister Trudeau was also my dad.

But it is I who stand before you today.

My name is Justin Trudeau, and I need you, the Liberals of Papineau.

You, the volunteers of our riding, like the great lady of Villeray, Lucille Girard, who brings together the young and the old every day at the Maison des Grands-Parents; like Giovanni Tortoricci, who brings friends together at their Nicolas-Tillemont club, and who even let me win a round at scopa; and like Joanna Tsoublekas, who everybody knows fights hard week in and week out for her community through the Filia Association. It’s you who define the quality of life of the riding. It’s you who speak to me of your daily lives and of your hopes for the future. I want to work with you, and share your challenges and your successes.

I want to congratulate Mary and Basilio for their vital commitment to the Liberal Party of Canada. Thank you both: just look how strong the Liberal Party is in this riding

today. With our leader, Stéphane Dion, and the dynamism of the fierce supporters of this riding, I know that in the upcoming election we will take back Papineau.

To get us down this road, I need you.

I want to be your standard-bearer in confronting our true adversaries, the Bloc and the Conservatives.

The Bloc wants to divide and destroy our Canada. The Conservatives want to divide us on issues of social justice. They want to divide us on the environment, on Kyoto, endangering the future of our children. They want to divide us on Canada's role in the world, with positions copied from the American right.

They want to divide us . . . I want to unite us.

And just who am I? I am Justin Trudeau. I am a man with a dream for our riding, our province, and our country, and I am a man who knows how to draw us together to make it happen. I see in Canada a place where our families are strong and supported, our elders are healthy and respected, our young people are empowered and filled with hope, and our new Canadians are embraced and encouraged to join together to build the Canada this world so desperately needs us to be. To achieve this, we will all need to work together, and it starts right now, right here, this afternoon, with your votes!

Speech announcing bid for the Liberal Party of Canada leadership

MONTREAL, OCTOBER 2, 2012

“MAKE NO SMALL DREAMS, THEY HAVE NOT THE POWER to move the soul.” —Goethe

Now that’ll take courage, but more than that, it’ll take hard, honest work. So let me start by telling you about the folks who taught me that best, here in Papineau.

On this side of the riding, it’s Park Ex. People from every nation live here. They make this neighbourhood so vibrant. On the other side of Jarry Park, Xavier and Ella-Grace’s favourite park, is Villeray, one of those solidly francophone neighbourhoods that defines Montreal. Artists and intellectuals live there, but so too do many families.

In the east side of the riding, there is Saint-Michel, where you find people like my good friend Ali Nestor—a

boxer—who teaches us how to fight poverty, social exclusion, and, from time to time, Conservative senators.

This community is not just remarkable for our diversity of ideas, of cultures, of beliefs. What is truly remarkable is that this diversity thrives peacefully.

Here, we trust each other and we look to the future together.

This trust that binds us together here in Papineau is the trust that binds this country together.

My friends: I love Montreal. I love Quebec. And I am in love with Canada.

I choose, with all my heart, to serve the country I love. That's why I'm so happy to announce here, tonight, my candidacy for the leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada.

So I'm here to ask for your help, because this road will be one long, Canadian highway. We will have ups and downs. Breathtaking vistas and a few boring stretches. And with winter coming, icy patches.

But we will match the size of this challenge with hard, honest work. Because hard work is what's required. Always has been.

Canada's success did not happen by accident, and it won't continue without effort. This magnificent, unlikely country was founded on a bold new premise: that people of different beliefs and backgrounds, from all corners of the world, could come together to build a better life for themselves and for their children than they ever could have alone.

This new idea that diversity is strength. Not a challenge

APPENDIX

to be overcome or a difficulty to be tolerated. That is the heart and soul of the Canadian success story.

That, and the old-fashioned idea of progress. The idea that we owe a sacred duty to Canadians who come after us. To work hard. To build a country that offers them even more than we had. More opportunity, more choices, more success, just as our parents and grandparents did for us.

These are the values that define and unite us.

I have seen a lot of this country. And I can tell you that those values are alive and well, from coast to coast to coast.

My fellow Liberals, these values are not the property of the Liberal Party of Canada. They are not Liberal values; they are Canadian values.

I've too often heard it said in Liberal circles that the Liberal Party created Canada. This, my friends, is wrong. The Liberal Party did not create Canada. Canada created the Liberal Party. Canadians created the Liberal Party.

The great, growing, and optimistic middle class of the last century created a big-hearted, broad-minded consensus. And built a better country. For themselves, yes. But more important, for each other, and for their children.

Canadians built medicare.

Canadians built an open and dynamic economy.

Canadians welcomed newcomers from around the world into their communities and businesses.

Canadians developed an independent foreign policy, and when necessary, bled for our values in faraway lands.

Canadians brought their Constitution home.

Canadians demanded that their inalienable rights and freedoms be placed above the reach of politics.

And Canadians balanced the budget.

The Liberal Party was their vehicle of choice. It was the platform for their aspirations, not their source.

When we were at our best, we were in touch, open to our fellow citizens and confident enough in them to take their ideas and work with them to build a successful country.

If there is a lesson to be drawn from our party's past it is not where we landed but how we got there. We were deeply connected to Canadians. We made their values our values, their dreams our dreams, their fights our fights.

The time has come to write a new chapter in the history of the Liberal Party.

This will be a campaign about the future, not the past. I want to lead a movement of Canadians that seeks to build, not rebuild. To create, not recreate.

After all, we live in a very different world, my friends. Twenty years ago, I was part of the first graduating class at my university to get email. I was of the last group of pre-Google high school teachers. And now, my kids don't know there was a world before BlackBerrys.

But if the way we will build it is new, what we have to build is timeless.

We know what Canadian families want. Good jobs. A dynamic and growing economy that allows us to educate our kids as they mature, and to care for our parents as they age.

We want a compassionate society that pulls together to

help the vulnerable, and gives the less fortunate a chance at success.

We know that Canada is the freest society on earth because we trust each other. So we want a government that looks at Canadians with respect, not suspicion. That celebrates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. That believes in your choices, your values, and your liberty.

Some say that youth carry our future. I say youth are an essential resource for our present. We need to empower all young Canadians, through world-class education, through rich and relevant work experience, and through opportunity to serve their communities and their world. Their voices, their choices, matter deeply, as do their actions: they are already leaders today.

And directly, to our First Nations, the Canadian reality has not been—and continues to not be—easy for you. We need to become a country that has the courage to own up to its mistakes and fix them together, people to people. Your place is not on the margins. It is at the very heart of who we are and what we are yet to become.

We want a foreign policy that will give us hope in the future and that will offer solutions to the world.

We want leadership that fosters and celebrates economic success in all regions of the country. Not leadership that seeds resentment between provinces.

We need to match the beauty and productivity of this great land with a new national commitment to steward it well. My generation understands that we cannot choose

between a strong and prosperous economy and a healthy environment. The Conservative approach may work for a few, and for a while. But we know we can't create long-term prosperity without environmental stewardship.

We need to learn what we have forgotten. That the key to growth, to opportunity, to progress, is a thriving middle class. People with good jobs. Families who are able to cope with modern life's challenges.

A thriving middle class provides realistic hope and a ladder of opportunity for the less fortunate. A robust market for our businesses. And a sense of common interest for all.

The great economic success stories of the recent past are really stories of middle-class growth. China, India, South Korea, and Brazil, to name a few, are growing rapidly because they have added hundreds of millions of people to the global middle class.

The news on that front is not so good at home; I don't need to tell you that. You, like our fellow Canadians all over the country, live it every day. Canadian families have seen their incomes stagnate, their costs go up, and their debts explode over the past thirty years.

What's the response from the NDP? To sow regional resentment and blame the successful. The Conservative answer? Privilege one sector over others and promise that wealth will trickle down, eventually.

Both are tidy ideological answers to complex and difficult questions. The only thing they have in common is that they are both, equally, wrong.

We need to get it right. We need to open our minds to new solutions, to listen to Canadians, to trust them.

And as we face these challenges, the only ideology that must guide us is evidence. Hard, scientific facts and data. It may seem revolutionary in today's Ottawa, but instead of inventing the facts to justify the policies, we will create policy based on facts. Solutions can come from the left or the right; all that matters is that they work. That they help us live—and thrive—true to our values.

Because middle-class growth is much more than an economic imperative.

The key to Canadian unity is the shared sense of purpose so hard to define but so deeply felt. The sense that we are all in this together. That when Albertans do well, it creates opportunities for Quebecers. That when Quebecers create and innovate, it echoes across the country and around the world. That whether you're in Saint-Boniface or St. John's, Mississauga or Surrey, we have common struggles and common dreams.

It is the middle class, not the political class, that unites this country. It is the middle class that makes this country great.

We know some Quebecers want their own country. A country that reflects our values, that protects our language and our culture, that respects our identity.

My friends, I want to build a country too. A country worthy of my dreams. Of your dreams. But for me, that country reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Grand North.

Quebecers have always chosen Canada because we know it is the land of our ancestors, who built this country from east to west. They were here to write the first chapters of the great Canadian history of courage, liberty, and hope. We have left our footsteps everywhere.

Will we put this history aside now because people of other languages came after us with the same dream of building a better country ? Of course not. Our contribution to Canada is far from over.

I want the Liberal Party to be once again the party that promotes and cherishes the francophone reality of this country. I want my party to support francophone communities across the country. And I want the Liberal Party to be once again the vehicle for Quebecers to contribute to the future of Canada.

Now, my candidacy has been the source of some speculation over the past months. The odd newspaper article has been written. Some have been very odd indeed.

But I said to Liberals after the last election that we need to get past this idea that a simple leadership change could solve our problems. I believe that still. My candidacy may shine a few extra lights upon us. It may put some people in the bleachers to watch. But what we do with that opportunity is up to us. All of us.

And when Canadians tune in, we need to prove to them that we Liberals have learned from the past, yes. But that we are one hundred percent focused on the future.

And not the future of our party: the future of our country.

I am running because I believe this country wants and needs new leadership. A vision for Canada's future grounded not in the politics of envy or mistrust. One that understands, despite all the blessings beneath our feet, that our greatest strength is above ground, in our people. All Canadians, pulling together, determined to build a better life, a better Canada.

To millions and millions of Canadians, their government has become irrelevant, remote from their daily lives, let alone their hopes and dreams. To them, Ottawa is just a place where people play politics as if it were a game open to a small group, and that appeals to an even smaller one.

They do not see themselves or their values reflected in Ottawa.

My friends, we will do better.

This is not a personal indictment of Mr. Harper or Mr. Mulcair. On the contrary, I honour their commitment and their service. But I think they are both dead wrong about this country. And, I want to tell you, together, we can prove it.

There will be many highs and lows between now and April. And if we work hard and find success, I know there will be many, many more between then and 2015.

I do not present myself as a man with all the answers. In fact, I think we've had quite enough of that kind of politics.

But I do know I have a strong sense of this country. Where we've been, where we are, and where we want to go. And I believe I can bring new forces to bear on old problems. I can convince a new generation of Canadians that their

country needs them. That it values their energy, ingenuity, and vision. Together, we can convince young Canadians that serving this great country is its own reward.

I promise you this: if you entrust me with the privilege of leadership, I will work long, hard, and tirelessly. I learned first-hand from the people of Villeray, Saint-Michel, and Park Extension that there are no shortcuts, no easy ways to earn trust and support. You have to work at it, day in and day out.

Because that's what it's going to take, and that's what Canadians deserve.

Think about it for a moment: When was the last time you had a leader you actually trusted? And not just the nebulous "trust to govern competently," but actually trusted, the way you trust a friend to pick up your kids from school, or a neighbour to keep your extra front door key? Real trust? That's a respect that has to be earned, step by step.

I feel so privileged to have had the relationship I've had, all my life, with this country, with its land, and with its people.

From my first, determined steps as a toddler to my first, determined steps as a politician: we've travelled many miles together, my friends . . .

You have always been there for me. You have inspired me, and supported me in good and more difficult times. And you have made me the man and the father I have become.

I chose today to launch this campaign because it is my little brother's birthday. Michel was killed in an avalanche, doing what he loved, in the country that he loved as much as anyone I have ever known. Michel would be thirty-seven

APPENDIX

years old today. Every day, I think about him and I remember not to take anything for granted. To live my life fully. And to always be faithful to myself.

At Michel’s funeral, my father read from the First Letter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. Paul wrote, “When I was a child, I spoke as a child. But now that I am a man, I put away childish things.”

It is time for us, for this generation of Canadians, to put away childish things. More, it is time for all of us to come together and get down to the very serious, very adult business of building a better country. For ourselves, for our fellow Canadians, and for our children.

We Canadians live in a blessed country. We are the most diverse people on earth, yet we are peaceful. We are tough, but we are compassionate. We are confident, but we work hard and we earn it. We have resources that are the envy of the world.

Let us pledge to one another to match those resources with resourcefulness. Let us rededicate ourselves to the glorious, improbable work-in-progress that is Canada. And to serve its people through the only party willing to speak to and for all Canadians: the Liberal Party of Canada.

So tonight, Sophie and I draw on our love for our family and offer up all we have in service to Canada, and to each and every one of you.

Join us.

Speech delivered at the Liberal Party of Canada Leadership National Showcase

TORONTO, APRIL 6, 2013

I STAND BEFORE YOU A SON OF QUEBEC. A GRANDSON OF British Columbia. And a servant of Canada.

These Canadians you just met [in the introduction video] are a few of the thousands I've had the honour to meet, to talk with, and to learn from over the past six months.

Their stories are remarkable. Remarkable because they are so common in Canada.

With hope and hard work, every day Canadians live the values that unite this country. Optimism, openness, compassion, service to community, generosity of spirit.

My friends, our party must be their party.

We must convince Chanchal that we share his work ethic, his desire to serve, his optimism about the future.

We must prove to Penny that we are in it for her. That we understand the burdens she carries, every day, to make life better for her kids, her neighbours, her community.

We must build with Justine and Ali a country worthy of their dreams and show them that Canadians across our land already share the same values as Quebecers: integrity, openness, and community engagement.

To those who think that Canadians do not share common values, I encourage you to spend more time in this country. All of this country.

My fellow Liberals, my message to you is simple. To lead Canada, we must serve Canadians. And we must prove it with acts more than words. I say that not as a son who learned it from his father, but as a father who every day learns that from his kids.

The Conservatives have forgotten about the value of service. The only time they talk about “community service” these days is when it’s a punishment for a crime. And anyway, the only person Mr. Harper wants his caucus to serve is their leader.

Well, that’s not good enough. We need to be a party of community leaders, devoted to community service. That’s why I am calling for open nominations for all Liberal candidates in every single riding in the next election.

Mr. Harper is showing us how governments grow out of touch. Canadians are getting tired of the negative, divisive politics of the Conservatives. And are disappointed that the NDP, with Mr. Mulcair, has decided that if you can’t beat them, you might as well join them.

Mr. Mulcair and Mr. Harper are masters of the politics of division. They are content to exploit differences and disagreements to further their own interests.

East against West, Quebec against the rest of Canada, the wealthy against the less fortunate, cities against regions, and so on.

This is old politics. But in the short term, it can work. It was how Mr. Harper's government was elected.

We need to be better than that. We are an optimistic, hard-working, problem-solving people. Canadians want a positive alternative that brings new solutions, new ideas, and a new way of doing politics. I'm more convinced than ever that if we work hard every day between now and then, the Liberal Party of Canada will be that positive choice in 2015.

So let me be perfectly clear on one point.

I want to be your leader because I want to work with you, and with millions of Canadians, to build that positive alternative to the Conservatives. One that Canadians will choose freely because we will have earned their trust.

Canadians don't just want a different government. They want a better government.

Those who think we need to win at any cost—whatever the means—are mistaken. It is a mistake to believe that just getting rid of this government will make all of Canada's problems disappear.

This is a naive and simplistic way to approach our future. We are facing real and significant challenges.

Middle-class Canadians have seen their incomes stall, while their costs go up and their debts explode. Simply getting rid of Mr. Harper will not get them their first real raise in thirty years.

Young Canadians will not get jobs just because Mr. Harper is gone.

Quebecers will not automatically re-engage at the heart of our federation simply because Mr. Harper is no longer prime minister.

Our international reputation on the environment will not be restored the day after Mr. Harper leaves.

The truth is, Canadians want to vote *for* something, not just *against* somebody. They want to vote for a long-term vision that embodies our values, our dreams, and our aspirations.

They will not get that vision from a Frankenstein's monster, at war with itself over fundamental issues like the Constitution, natural resources, and free trade. It would fail in its primary goal: it would extend, not end, Mr. Harper's career.

From Ponoka, Alberta, to Île-des-Chênes, Manitoba, to Edmundston, New Brunswick, Canadians are hoping that we have learned that lesson. Over the course of this campaign, I began to describe for Canadians a vision of this country that is very, very different from this government's.

Our highest economic objective will be prosperity for the middle class and those Canadians who are working hard to join it. Our grounding principle will be equality of

opportunity. Our agenda will develop our skills, support our vulnerable, attract investment, and expand trade.

It is a vision that embraces diversity. One that recognizes Canada is strong because of our differences, not in spite of them. One that believes deeply in federalism, balancing national priorities with regional and local means of meeting them.

A vision that sees newcomers to this country as community- and nation-builders; as citizens, not just employees or a demographic to be mined for votes.

Ours is a vision that knows economic prosperity and environmental health can—and must—go hand in hand in the twenty-first century. We will not ignore science, or shy away from tough, urgent issues like carbon pricing. Nor will we succumb to easy politics by demonizing one sector of the economy or region of the country.

A Liberal Party led by me would never use western resources to buy eastern votes.

We will stand for national unity by offering Quebecers and all Canadians a progressive political project that rallies us all. We will be audacious and ambitious, because this country is greater than the sum of its parts.

Our foreign policy will promote peace, democracy, and development. Canada must be a key player on the world stage, bringing forward positive debate and discussions—not divisive ones as is the case today.

My fellow Liberals, make no mistake about it. With me as your leader, you will get a clear, positive vision for

APPENDIX

Canada. We've begun to lay it out in this campaign. We've focused on the big issues like the prosperity of the middle class, a healthy democracy, and a sustainable economy.

It's a vision that you and I are going to finish, together, with Canadians.

That is doing politics differently.

If we work hard and stay optimistic, we will put forward an irresistible alternative to the Conservatives thirty months from now. Irresistible not because it is Liberal, but because it will be 100 percent, undeniably Canadian.

It won't be easy. Nothing worth doing ever is. But that is the path to victory in 2015.

Hope, my friends, yes. Always hope. But more than that. Hope and hard work.

You see, the biggest problem with Mr. Harper's government is not that they're mean-spirited. It's that they're unambitious.

After all, what is the Conservatives' economic message these days? That Canadians should be happy we don't live in Europe?

What's worse, the Conservatives use our challenges as opportunities to demonize their opponents and divide Canadians, not to find solutions.

It is up to us, the Liberal Party, to say that the Conservative way of doing politics is not good enough. Canadians are better than their politics. Canada deserves far better.

Now, there are those who ask me, What makes you think you can take this on?

To them, I say this: I have lived and breathed every square kilometre of this country from the day I was born. I've lived and worked in the East and the West, in French and in English. I am proud to have lifelong friends, colleagues, and supporters from the Arctic archipelago to Point Pelee.

And I have met, talked with, and learned from more Canadians in the past six months than Mr. Harper has in the past six years.

I have been open to Canadians my entire life. And because of that, I have a strong sense of this country. Where it has been, where it is, and where Canadians want it to go.

And what is it with Conservative attacks on teachers? They've never met a teacher they wouldn't pick a fight with. I am fiercely proud to be one of the hundreds of thousands of Canadians who belong to the teaching profession. And let me tell you this, my friends, this teacher fully intends to fight back.

In closing, I want to share a story with you.

Many of you know that today marks an anniversary. Exactly forty-five years ago tonight, a gathering of Canadians made my father leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

Many Canadians have approached me over the course of this campaign to share stories about my dad. So let me tell you a special one.

I met Constable Jeff Ling at Loyalist College in Belleville. It was at the end of a long morning. Constable Ling came up to the front of the room to give me a gift. I recognized it instantly. It was a picture of Dad and me.

APPENDIX

You've probably seen it. I was about two years old and Dad was hurrying up to Rideau Hall, with me tucked roughly under his arm.

Both Dad and I are looking at an RCMP officer. He's dressed in full uniform and saluting us crisply.

That picture means as much to Jeff as it does to me. Because that officer was his father.

What moved me was that here Jeff was, serving his country a generation later, with the same dedication and quiet pride as his father. In that moment, he evoked the thousands of Canadians I had the unique honour of growing up with. Men and women for whom service to Canada was its own reward.

I know there are those who say this movement we're building is all about nostalgia. That it's not really about me, or you, or Canada. Let's face it: they say that it's about my father.

Well, to them I say this:

It is. It is about my dad. And Constable Ling's dad. And our mothers. And yours. It's about all of our parents and the legacy they left us. The country they built for us. Canada.

But we know now what they knew then. It's more about the future than the past. It is always, in every instance, about our children more than our parents' legacy.

That with hope and hard work, we can make progress happen. That we can leave a better country to our kids than we inherited from our parents.

Progress. That is the core value of the Liberal Party.

That is why generations of Canadians, from every corner of our land, and every walk of life, poured their heart and their soul and their ideas and their sweat into our party.

I said back in October that the Liberal Party didn't create Canada. Canada created the Liberal Party. Well, the last six months have taught me that maybe, just maybe, Canadians are willing to do that again.

We can lead the change that so many Canadians want to make happen.

I'm asking you for your time, for your smarts, for your hope, and your hard work.

And this week, I'm asking for your vote to become the next leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

Join me, join us, and our work will make us proud. Believe, now and always, in our country.

Thank you.

Liberal Party of Canada Leadership Acceptance speech

OTTAWA, APRIL 14, 2013

THANK YOU, MY FRIENDS, THANK YOU.

Normally I'd start by thanking family and friends for putting up with my absences and allowing me to go off and campaign, but that's not exactly right. My decision to seek the leadership was never in spite of my responsibility to my family, but because of it. And therefore family and friends were always at the very heart of this campaign. We did this together.

Thank you, Sophie. Thank you, Xavier and Ella-Grace.

To my fellow candidates, Joyce, Martha, Karen, Deborah, Martin, David, George, and Marc, and to the thousands of Canadians who worked on your campaigns, I want to say: we are not adversaries but allies. Your courage,

intelligence and commitment will continue to bring honour to the Liberal Party of Canada.

And for the health of this party, the hard work he has done, I want to thank, from the bottom of my heart, my friend, my colleague, and a great Canadian, Bob Rae. Bob, we continue to need your leadership, your wisdom, and your unparalleled commitment to the country and to our party.

This has been a great campaign. We are fiercely proud that it has been fuelled by volunteers. More than twelve thousand Canadians stepped up. Thank you for your dedication to making this wonderful country even better.

Like every effective organization, this one has had principled, brilliant, and generous leadership: Katie Telford and Gerald Butts. My friends and compatriots. Thank you for what you've done, for what you're doing, and for what we are going to do together. Rob and Jodi, George, Aidan, and Ava, thank you for sharing Gerry and Katie with us.

My fellow Liberals, it is with great respect for those who have stood in this place before me, and great resolve to do the hard work required in front of us, that I accept, with humility, the confidence you have placed in me. Thank you. All of you. For your trust. For your hope. For choosing to be part of this movement we're building.

And on this lovely spring evening in our nation's capital, I am honored to stand with you, proud to be the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

My friends, this is the last stop of this campaign. But the first stop of the next one.

Over the past six months, I have been to hundreds of communities from coast to coast to coast. I've met, talked with, and learned from thousands and thousands of Canadians. And because of your hard work, more than one hundred thousand voters have sent a clear message: Canadians want better leadership and a better government.

Canadians want to be led, not ruled. They are tired of the negative, divisive politics of Mr. Harper's Conservatives. And unimpressed that the NDP, under Mr. Mulcair, have decided that if you can't beat them, you might as well join them.

We are fed up with leaders who pit Canadians against Canadians. West against East, rich against poor, Quebec against the rest of the country, urban against rural.

Canadians are looking to us, my friends. They are giving us a chance, hopeful that the party of Wilfrid Laurier can rediscover its sunny ways. Hopeful that positive politics has a fighting chance against the steady barrage of negativity that you and I both know is coming soon to TV screens across Canada. The phone messages, our volunteers tell us, have already started.

To adapt a sentiment from the great American president Franklin D. Roosevelt: never before in this country have the forces of negativity, cynicism, and fear been so united in their hostility toward one candidate.

The Conservative Party will now do what it does. It will try to spread fear. It will sow cynicism. It will attempt to

convince Canadians that we should be satisfied with what we have now.

For at the heart of their unambitious agenda is the idea that “better” is just not possible. That to hope for something more from our politics and our leaders—more humanity, more transparency, more compassion—is naive, and inevitably will lead to disappointment. And they will promote that divisive and destructive idea with passionate intensity. They will do so for a simple reason: they are afraid.

But—and I want to make this perfectly clear—my fellow Canadians, it is not my leadership that Mr. Harper and his party fear.

It’s yours.

There is nothing that these Conservatives fear more than an engaged and informed Canadian citizen.

My friends, if I have learned one thing in this life, it’s that our country is blessed with countless numbers of activist citizens, from all walks of life, and of all political views. They have come out by the thousands over the course of this campaign.

They’ve gathered by the hundreds in places like Ponoka, Alberta, and Oliver, B.C., Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and Île-des-Chênes, Manitoba. Canadians who thought they were sending community leaders to be their voice in Ottawa, but instead got only Mr. Harper’s voice back in their communities.

We’ve seen their hopeful faces in crowds of Canadians gathered in Windsor and Whitby, Mississauga and

Markham. Middle-class Canadians who are putting much into the economy and getting too little in return.

We've seen hard-working Atlantic Canadians from Edmundston to Halifax, from Summerside to St. John's, who have decided that this is a government that does not share their values. (To my friends in Labrador, I look forward to seeing you very soon.)

We've met young Aboriginal leaders from all across this country, from Tk'emlups to Whapmagoostui, who are simply tired of being forced to the margins of this country. With the courage to walk sixteen hundred kilometres through a Canadian winter to make the point that they will be Idle No More.

Francophones who live in Shédiac, Sudbury, Saint Boniface, and all across this country who want their children to live and thrive in French, your determination inspires me; it must inspire the entire country.

Quebecers, from Gatineau to Gaspé, who want to re-engage with this country. With their country. Who have no time for the divisive issues of their parents' past, but want to work with Canadians who share their values to build a better country for all our kids.

I want to take a moment to speak directly to my fellow Quebecers.

Your engagement and your support in recent months has been deeply moving. I have learned so much from our conversations and our meetings. I take nothing for granted.

I understand that trust can only be earned. And my plan is to earn yours.

I feel confident about the future. I want to share with you why Quebecers have always been builders. From Champlain and Laurier to today, they have actively participated in shaping our country, together with so many other Canadians.

Our work is not complete. We face enormous challenges. Helping the middle class make ends meet. Reconciling economic growth and environmental stewardship. Playing a positive and meaningful role in the world. To rise above these challenges we must demonstrate our audacity and ambition, my friends. Audacity and ambition, always.

Let's be honest. We will not convince everyone. There will always be skeptics. People who say that our country is too big and too full of differences to be effectively managed, or for everyone to be represented. They are wrong, my friends.

I am not claiming that it will always be easy. That there will not be any obstacles along the way. That we will not have to make some compromises.

Canada is a grand, yet unfinished project. And it is up to us, together with all Canadians, to build the country that we want. The time has come for us to write a new chapter in the history of our country.

Let's leave to others the old quarrels and old debates that lead nowhere. Let's leave to others the ultra-partisan

rhetoric and the old ways of doing politics. Let's leave the personal attacks to them.

Quebecers, let us be, together, once again, builders of Canada. So that our country can match the height of the dreams and ambitions that are shared across this country. So that we can leave our children a better world than the one that we inherited from our parents.

My friends, the Liberal Party will regain the confidence of Canadians when it proves that it is here to serve them. This is the task at hand. This is what will guide me as leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

To the new generation of Canadians and to all the young people who are not engaged by politics, I have a very simple message for you: your country needs you. It needs your energy and your passion. It needs your idealism and your ideas.

The movement we are have been building over the past six months, it is yours. It belongs to you. It is the movement with which we will change politics. It is the movement that will allow us to reform our political institutions, to make reconciling the environment and our economy a real priority, and to play a positive and constructive role in the world.

My fellow Liberals, Canadians are looking to us. This campaign has been their campaign, more than just ours.

They want something better. They refuse to believe that better is not possible. They see the country their parents and grandparents worked so hard to build, and want to hand an even better country to their children.

Canadians share deep values that cannot be shaken, no

matter how hard the Conservative Party may try. Optimism. Openness. Compassion. Service to community. Generosity of spirit.

We want to believe that change can happen. We want leadership that will shape our best instincts into an even better country.

But Canadians will not suffer fools gladly. Canadians turned away from us because we turned away from them. Because Liberals became more focused on fighting with each other than fighting for Canadians.

Well, I don't care if you thought my father was great or arrogant. It doesn't matter to me if you were a Chrétien-Liberal, a Turner-Liberal, a Martin-Liberal, or any other kind of Liberal. The era of hyphenated Liberals ends right here, tonight.

From this day forward, we welcome all Liberals as Canadian Liberals. United in our dedication to serve and lead Canadians. Unity not just for unity's sake, but unity of purpose.

I say this to the millions of middle-class Canadians, and the millions more who work hard every day to join the middle class: under my leadership, the purpose of the Liberal Party of Canada will be you. I promise that I will begin, spend, and end every day thinking about and working hard to solve your problems.

I know that you are optimistic about us, but cautiously so. You are, after all, Canadians. You know that hope is a fine thing, but that without an equal measure of hard work to

APPENDIX

back it up, it will be fleeting. So I know that you will judge us by the tenacity of our work ethic, the integrity of our efforts, and, come 2015, the clarity of our plan to make our country better. That is as it should be.

I know how lucky I have been in my life. Lucky, most of all, to have learned so much from so many Canadians. To learn that, above all else in this country, leadership means service.

I love this country, my friends, and I believe in it deeply. It deserves better leadership than it has now.

So let us be clear-eyed about what we have accomplished. We have worked hard and we have had a great campaign. We are united, hopeful, and resolute in our purpose.

But know this: we have won nothing more and nothing less than the opportunity to work even harder. Work even harder to prove ourselves worthy of leading this great country.

We should be deeply, deeply grateful for that opportunity. As your leader, I fully intend to make sure we make the most of it.

Change can happen. Canadians want leadership that will work with them to make it happen.

Be hopeful, my fellow Liberals. Work hard. Stay focused on Canadians. We can lead the change so many people want.

A better Canada is always possible. Together, we will build it.

Thank you.

Speech delivered at the 11th Annual Reviving the Islamic Spirit Convention

TORONTO, DECEMBER 22, 2012

AS-SALAMU ALAYKUM.

I am here today because I believe in freedom of expression.

I am here today because I believe in freedom of peaceful assembly.

I am here today because I believe in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which guarantees those sacred things to you, to me, and to all people with whom we share this land.

But mostly, I am here today because I believe in you. I believe in the contributions you have made to our country. And I know that together we will make even greater contributions in the future.

Let me begin with a story. A story from your history.

One that I hope will stay in your minds as you think about our common future.

Many generations ago, a young man was confronted by traditional religious elders. The kind of folks that today we might call fundamentalists or even extremists.

You see, a centuries-old conflict was raging. Prominent people on each side were convinced of their rightness, and loudly proclaimed that the other side was not only wrong, but wrong because of their religious beliefs, their culture, and their identity.

And as is far too often the case, these leaders reserved special scorn for those within their ranks who sought common ground with others. They understood the threat that moderation and compromise present to those who preach rigid doctrine.

This young man was struggling at the time. He was just starting out in the world. He was facing many of the same issues that, I suspect, you are facing today. How do I remain true to my values, to my culture, while I serve the interests of the society to which I belong?

He knew who he was, and what he believed. He was proud of his heritage, his culture, his religion. But he parted ways, decisively, with those within his community who would use these things to build walls.

But then, he was granted a remarkable opportunity, to address a distinguished audience of political, religious, and business leaders.

And so he challenged them to think beyond the narrow

confines of the present and to look toward the future. He said, "Providence has united together on this corner of earth populations of different origins and creeds. Is it not manifest that these populations must have together common and identical interests?"

That young man is a very important part of your history, as I said. But he would not go on to become an imam, a holy man, or a caliph.

He would, however, go on to become, among many more important things, my second-favourite prime minister.

The year was 1877. The place was Quebec City. And the brave young man's name was Wilfrid Laurier. He was thirty-five years old, with barely three years of service in Parliament to recommend him. And he had made a difficult choice.

Rather than fall in line with his elders and marshal his already prodigious talents in exclusive service of what he called his race, he chose an improbable new path. One that honoured what was good and noble about his own culture, yes. But one that used those very things to serve a higher purpose: to find common ground between people of differing beliefs.

Laurier saw something clearly, perhaps more clearly than any other Canadian: he saw that here, in this place, a new idea was taking shape. A new way of living together just might be possible.

He knew that his was a country founded and built by people who had warred against one another for centuries on

their home continent: English versus French, Catholic versus Protestant. Early on, these murderous conflicts crossed the Atlantic Ocean with them.

But then a unique thing happened. Despite the fact that the English were victorious on the battlefield, the same measure of freedom was gained by each side.

In one of the most moving passages of that speech, speaking about the obelisk on the Plains of Abraham, Laurier said: “In what other country, under the sun, can you find a similar monument reared to the memory of the conquered as well as of the conqueror? In what other country, under the sun, will you find the names of the conquered and the conqueror equally honoured and occupying the same place in respect of the population? . . . Where is the Canadian who, comparing his country with even the freest countries, would not feel proud of the institutions which protect him?”

Now, the point of this story is not that remarkable moment in our history. The point is everything that has happened since.

This is our inheritance. One that has been renewed by successive generations to this very day.

That two peoples who had been enemies came together to build institutions—and a Constitution—that guaranteed freedom not only for one another but for all who would come after them.

They were joined in this great project over the years by people of every conceivable culture, religion, and ethnicity. Waves and waves of young men and women who chose

to emphasize what was kind-hearted about their own traditions. Free people who chose to use the generosity of spirit that is the root of all faith to find common ground with those whose beliefs differed from their own.

As it is written in the Holy Qur'an: "The true servants of the Most Merciful are those who behave gently and with humility on earth, and whenever the foolish quarrel with them, they reply with [words of] peace" (Al-Furqan 25:63).

It has never been easy. This road has never been smooth or straight. Generations of Canadians had to overcome deep differences. They made a deliberate choice to turn their backs on rancour and conflict.

But today, because of them, we are all blessed to live in the most diverse country in the history of the world. One of the most peaceful and most prosperous.

One that has now moved beyond the goal of mere tolerance. Because saying "I tolerate you" is to grudgingly allow you to breathe the same air, to walk the same earth. And while there are many places in the world where tolerance is still just a far-off dream, in Canada we are beyond that. So let us not use the word *tolerance*. Let us speak instead of acceptance, understanding, respect, and friendship.

Here, we have come to a new realization, together: that a country can be great not in spite of its diversity, but because of its diversity.

This is our story now, yours and mine. The story of our country, Canada.

So as you reflect this weekend about the future, take

heart. Know that the struggles we are facing have been faced down before. Know that the conflicting feelings in our hearts have been felt before. Know that compromise and moderation are not the path of weakness but of courage and strength. That there is always a positive path in this country for all who seek common ground.

Most important, remember this: our inheritance must be constantly renewed by those who share Laurier's vision.

When people come together to create opportunities for one another, the dreams we hold in common will crowd out the fears that would divide us.

For it is not the political class but the middle class that unites this country. Open to all, our broad and diverse middle class is Canada's centre of gravity. Good people. People with common hopes and common challenges, coming together to find common ground.

There are already too many forces in the world that drive us into separate camps, that isolate us, and make us suspicious of one another.

Yesterday, protesters tried to prevent me from speaking at a school because of my stance defending gay marriage and women's rights. And as you know, some conservatives tried to stir up controversy about my appearance here today. They tried to appeal to people's fears and prejudices, the very things that this gathering was founded to overcome.

Now, I respect and defend their right to express their opinions. But I want you to know that I will always stand up to the politics of division and fear. It is short-sighted to

pit groups of Canadians against one another. It may make some feel good for a little while, or even work politically in the short term.

But it is no way to build a country. Least of all this country. It is not who we are.

We are here today to do what we Canadians have been doing together for generations. We are honouring our diversity through friendship and understanding, so that we can build from it a common, positive future.

So I join you in your commitment to that more hopeful future. Let us pledge ourselves to building a country that brings people together; that finds the highest virtue in compromise, moderation, and common ground.

Nearly thirty years after that first speech, then in his third term as our prime minister, Laurier put it this way to an audience in Edmonton.

“We do not want or wish that any individual should forget the land of his origin. Let them look to the past, but let them still more look to the future. Let them look to the land of their ancestors, but let them look also to the land of their children. Let them become Canadians and give their heart, their soul, their energy, and all their power to Canada.”

That was Laurier’s wish for us. And it is mine for you. Be hopeful and positive, my friends. Your country needs you.

May peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.